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ABSTRACT

Africa's population is now 630 million, and it is growing faster than any other region in the world. But while Africa's population grows by 3.1 percent annually, the continent's food supply increases by only 1.1 percent per year. Throughout the 1980s more and more African governments have agreed that lasting development is possible only if population growth subsides. This document, as resource material for United States foreign policy-making, describes the economic and environmental problems in African countries and the efforts to reduce their population growth rate. The country-by-country breakdown, focusing primarily on sub-Saharan Africa, summarizes: (1) the population picture; (2) what is currently being done to curb population growth; and (3) what must be done in the future to change the course of Africa's descent into economic, social, and environmental turmoil. It is recommended that the United States rethink its previous policies and assume a leadership role, especially by resuming its support for the two organizations with the most effective track records in African development, namely, the United Nations Population Fund and the International Planned Parenthood Federation. Lists 32 references. (YP)

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TOWARD THE 21ST CENTURY

THE POPULATION INSTITUTE

Number 8, 1988

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A CONTINENT IN CRISIS: BUILDING A FUTURE FOR AFRICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The airlifts are underway again in Africa, this time to the Sudan. On December 4, Red Cross cargo planes carried desperately needed food to two starving Sudanese villages as the start of a new international effort to check the spreading famine there. The shipments were delayed by months of negotiations among the factions in Sudan's bloody civil war, and by the time relief workers reached the villages, they found that most of the young children had already perished from hunger and disease. Such is sadly the stuff of daily headlines from Africa. They are now buried on the bottom of inside pages of newspapers and are usually bumped altogether off network news programs. The "emergency" in Ethiopia that mobilized hundreds of millions of dollars in aid from Western governments and private donors has become a permanent pattern of suffering in the region. Although the heat of global public attention has faded almost as quickly as it began, and the aid flow has dwindled to its usual trickle, the tragedy has today, if anything, become entrenched on an even wider scale; the hunger and pain has settled into a grim routine. In the eyes of the industrialized world, however, Africa's plight has returned to its usual place on the inside pages, back in the shadows, mostly out of sight.

For centuries, Africa has been the forgotten continent— neglected by diplomats, ignored by historians, patronized by politicians, even maligned and insulted by Hollywood filmmakers. Today, popular Western notions about Africa remain vague and misshapen by decades of fiction, racism, and Tarzan movies. In Western diplomatic offices, Africa has been relegated to the back burner, the token projects there understaffed, underfunded, and too often deprived of top-level leadership or interest. It is not an overstatement to say that U.S. policy toward Africa over the past eight years has consisted for all practical purposes of just three parts: South Africa, Egypt, and Libya, all rather exceptional cases. The vast majority of Africans whose countries lie in between have received little sustained international attention.

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That state of affairs will soon change. Africa, so long brushed aside in the hustle of global relations, will step to the fore in the years immediately ahead. It will be put under the global spotlight because of the tragedy developing there—a crisis cutting across its social structure, economy, and environment—but the spotlight this time will not quickly fade, because how effectively we deal with this crisis will, in a very real sense, determine the kind of world we inhabit in the 21st Century. That crisis is not simply an unfortunate flash in the pan, as we assumed in 1985 when we responded to the famine in Ethiopia. We are learning in stark ways that this is not a crisis we can "solve" with one-time donations and special rock concerts, and then move on without looking back. Africa's problems are structural, deeply rooted in demographic trends and human institutions. They are only a more concentrated and severe reflection of problems slowly developing throughout the Third World. And if we have learned anything in the past 25 years, it is that America's future, and that of our industrialized-world allies, is not secure unless we can help build a secure future for the nations of the Third World, where three-quarters of the earth's inhabitants live.

A brief overview of Africa's situation makes clear why it cannot be ignored. Africa's population is now 630 million, and it is growing faster than any other region in the world. If its present growth rate is not altered, its population would triple by the year 2028. But while Africa's population grows by 3.1 percent annually, the continent's food supply increases by only 1.1 percent per year. That means that every year Africa's dependence on uncertain food imports grows more acute. And, in painfully practical terms, it means that each year more Africans will starve. The suffering that was triggered in Ethiopia by severe drought is becoming built into the demographic structure of the entire continent.

There is no simple explanation for why Africa's economic development has been stunted and why Africans today remain so grievously poor. Lack of capital and highly skilled personnel is a factor. As is ongoing civil strife, which, besides its human toll, tends to be disruptive and costly to long-term development schemes. Staggering external debts act as drags on many African economies. Historical policies of colonial exploitation (so often pointed to by Africans themselves) have surely played a role, as have the present-day mistakes and mismanagement by some African governments (so often pointed to by Western donors). Finally, the accelerating degradation of one of Africa's greatest economic assets—its natural resource base—has had a clear and ominous impact on the continent's hopes for a self-sufficient future. Somewhere in the mix of these factors is the wellspring of Africa's woes. But it is the added element of runaway population growth that aggravates each of these factors and makes the mix so very difficult to overcome.

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Despite wide-ranging economic reforms by African governments and key initiatives by the international community to support African recovery efforts, the continent's critical economic situation is still deteriorating. There can be no doubt whatsoever that this deterioration will continue unless reducing rampant population growth becomes a priority with all relevant government agencies, private organizations and with the nations of that beleaguered region of the world.

The United Nations Population Fund, the multi-lateral agency that has worked longest and most extensively in Africa, reported in its Mid-Term Review of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, that "half of Africa's people are under 14 years, and 70 percent are under 25. Many African countries are increasing their populations in 20 years or less. Their cities are growing even faster; some will double in size by the end of the century.

Food aid is unloaded in drought-stricken Niger.
—Photo by AID

"The needs of these increasing numbers give added urgency to Africa's efforts for economic recovery," according to the report. "But the rate at which numbers increase will be one of the factors which will determine their success.

"In many countries, infant mortality has been cut by half in the past thirty years. Twenty years have been added to the average expectation of life. But while death rates have fallen over much of Africa, birth rates have hardly changed."

Before proceeding with a closer look at the prospects for individual African nations, it is important to take note of the large, sweeping, and dangerous ways in which population growth is reshaping Africa's future. We have already noted the growing food insecurity in Africa. Over the past 10 years, per capita food production in Africa has fallen by 11 percent, and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) predicts that by the dawn of the 21st Century, 29 African nations will be unable to feed their populations. It should surprise no one that UNICEF has found that childhood malnutrition is already on the rise in 10 African countries. During the first half of 1988, FAO provided emergency food assistance to 17 African nations, far more than to any other world region. The widening scarcity cannot be explained away simply by unfavorable weather cycles or crop failures. To keep up with its population growth, Africa would need to more than double its yearly gains in agricultural productivity. Recent history makes clear that that kind of rapid expansion is not possible. Meanwhile, next year Africa will need to feed an additional 20 million people, and the year after that an even larger increment.

A second way in which population growth ensures that Africa will not be able to feed its people is by ravaging the environment, converting cropland to desert and robbing remaining arable land of its productive capacity. Wood remains the primary source of fuel in Africa. As the continent's population grows, demand for wood increases faster than it can be replaced through new planting, a fact which has both economic and environmental consequences.

First, it means that Africa must devote ever increasing shares of human labor toward the effort to find wood and transport it to where it is needed. Already, according to World Bank figures, households in Gambia and Tanzania must devote between 250 and 300 working days each year simply to finding and collecting the wood they need for fuel. These costs are also great in Africa's swelling urban centers. In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for example, the cost of fuelwood consumes about 20 percent of the average household income. This diverts energies and investments from more constructive development efforts.

Second, the growing demand for fuelwood is resulting in large-scale deforestation of the African continent. The example of Ethiopia is instructive. In 1900, 40 percent of Ethiopia was covered by trees and brush. The excessive human demand for fuelwood has taken its toll, however, so that today less than 4 percent of the country has forest cover. Similar losses across Africa are adding up to a grand-scale environmental disaster. Across the continent, 29 trees are cut down for every new tree planted. Between 1850 and 1980, Africa lost 60 percent of its forest cover, and the pace of destruction is rapidly escalating. Without the forest and plantlife cover to hold the soil, absorb rainfall, and provide for transpiration back into the atmosphere, rainfall declines. With less rain, it is harder to grow new trees and plants to replace those taken for fuel, and the harmful cycle repeats itself that much faster. One result is that once deprived of its capacity to sustain vegetation, many African lands are being converted to desert. Already, ecologists have determined that the Sahara Desert is expanding by six miles each year, leaving Africa with ever less arable land with which to support its growing population. Forty percent of Africa's arable land is vulnerable to desertification.

Africa's startling environmental losses and its steady declines in agricultural productivity do not bode well for a continent whose economy is so heavily based on agriculture. Rapid population growth is making Africa's economic problems dramatically worse by diluting the saving effect of foreign development assistance. With 32 out of 54 African countries doubling their populations within the next 25 years, foreign aid simply cannot keep up. Instead of paying for meaningful and lasting improvements in the African quality of life, our aid dollars right now are, in effect, subsidizing the rapid expansion of these populations. As population grows faster than national economies, quality of life declines for each person. In the last year, despite relatively favorable agricultural conditions, per capita income was stagnant or declined in 24 African nations.

American hopes for fostering stable democratic rule in African nations are directly dependent upon the ability of democracy to make good on the promise of a better future.

Africa's economic quicksand has implications beyond the immediately obvious consequence of crippling development plans. American hopes for fostering stable democratic rule in African nations are directly dependent upon the ability of democracy to make good on the promise of a better future. Observers

like former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara have long warned that economic hopelessness, spawned by rapid population growth, is a primary cause behind civil strife and the rise of authoritarian governments. That warning has been sternly validated by events in Argentina, where President Raúl Alfonsin's tentative democracy recently survived a military challenge inspired largely by dissatisfaction with Argentina's economic straits. That should serve as a sobering caution to some key U.S. allies in Africa, such as Egypt and Kenya, which have been suffering acute economic problems closely related to runaway population growth.

The FAO predicts that by the year 2000, 29 African nations will be unable to feed their populations.
—Photo by AID

AN EMERGING AFRICAN CONSENSUS

Yet the African story is not exclusively one of despair by any means. In fact, it is the story of the remarkable convergence of great need with great opportunity. This is because leaders across Africa have increasingly come to recognize in recent years the direct links between population growth and their problems related to development, the economy, and the environment. Robert I. Rothberg, academic vice president at Tufts University and the author of *Africa in the 1990s: U.S. Policy Opportunities and Choices*, observes that there have been "steady indigenous responses to well targeted local campaigns to limit family size" in Africa. "Reducing population growth in Africa is in our interest as a superpower," he says. "Africa's well-being increases our own."

As the needs of Africa have grown more acute with surging population growth, an emerging majority of African governments is now prepared for the first time to deal directly and humanely with the population issue. Their arrival at this consensus is no incidental achievement, for only 15 years ago most African leaders agreed that rapid population growth was a *spur* to economic development rather than a hindrance. In fact, in 1974 at the first U.N. World Population Conference, African delegates were virtually unanimous in their rejection of Western calls for reductions in population growth; some even suspected racist motivations for the sudden Western concern with African overpopulation.

That resistance has been steadily washed away, however, in the years that followed the 1974 Bucharest conference by the increasingly unmistakable impact of population growth on Third World societies. As populations swelled, schools overflowed, homelessness and unemployment soared, cities spilled out into the countryside in haphazard, unplanned growth, and per capita productivity and national wealth shrank. By the time the delegates met again 10 years later in Mexico City for the International Conference on Population, it was the Third World participants who spoke loudest about the need for an easing of population pressures. The African delegates reflected that new perspective, and throughout the 1980s more and more African governments have agreed that lasting development is possible only if population growth subsides. That emerging African consensus was formalized at the Second African Population Conference, held in Arusha, Tanzania, in early 1984. At that conference, delegates from

44 African nations hammered out the Kilimanjaro Program of Action for African Population and Self-Reliant Development, which acknowledged the wide-scale harm caused by rapid population growth and called on all African nations to make population a central concern in development planning. That view was reaffirmed at the African Conference of Parliamentarians on Population and Development, held two years later at Harare, Zimbabwe.

In the words of Under Secretary General Nafis Sadik, Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund, "There is a growing consensus among African leaders that part of the cure for Africa's economic problems will be slower population growth and well-spaced, healthier families. This is the message they are bringing to their people. The evidence is that they are being heard.

"Family size is a personal decision. Women in Africa still want large families, compared with women in the rest of the world. Men still take pride in the size of their families. But more and more ordinary people are seeing that having many children means costs as well as benefits, and they are making their own decisions.

Ironically, however, just as the African nations have come to agree with the "Western" view taken at the 1974 Bucharest Conference, the leading Western promoter of population policies has shown troubling hesitation to help. United States funding for population assistance has been slashed over the past eight years and U.S. contributions to the two leading international population aid programs—the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)—have been indefinitely suspended. Thus, just when the nations of Africa and the industrialized donor community should be working together at last to make their most important strides toward population stabilization and lasting development, U.S. equivocation is holding everyone back. That will have to change. The need is too urgent and the opportunities for a constructive partnership with the African leadership are too great to ignore.

An emerging majority of African governments is now prepared for the first time to deal directly with the population issue.

A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY ANALYSIS

The following country-by-country breakdown summarizes both the deepening human needs and the increasingly urgent opportunities for progress in Africa. It focuses primarily on sub-Saharan Africa and highlights in each country cited: (a) the population picture, (b) what is currently being done to curb population growth, and (c) what more must be done in order to change the course of Africa's descent into economic, social, and environmental turmoil.

ANGOLA

Angola's present population of 8.7 million is growing by 2.7 percent annually. At that rate, Angola would double its population within 25 years. Angola will have to act very quickly if it is to hold its population much below 12 million

by the year 2000, and such quick action is unlikely given the government's recent track record.

Angola has shown limited interest in reducing its population growth rate, insisting instead on further study and population data collection before making a substantial commitment to change. As a result, although Angola has accepted United Nations assistance, it has been mainly confined to help in conducting a national census during the early 1980s and other demographic analysis. Some aid has gone toward the extension of family planning services, but not on a wide scale. There is reason, however, to hope for some progress because UNFPA launched last year a new four-year, $4 million aid program in cooperation with the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and other agencies, aimed at improving the health of Angolan women and children, extending family planning availability, and educating couples about the benefits of family planning.

United States funding for population assistance has been slashed over the past eight years.

BENIN

Benin is one of those African countries which, long resistant to calls for slowing population growth, is beginning to reconsider its position. Its present population of 4.5 million is growing by 3.1 percent, at which rate it would double every 22 years. Such rapid population growth has already spawned a range of socio-economic problems in Benin, including a shortage of schools, teachers, housing, and health care facilities. It has undermined the economy, causing high unemployment and declining industrial productivity. The rapidly growing demand for social services, a result of both population growth and rising expectations, has caused significant government deficits, despite consistent cutbacks in services provided. These factors have convinced Benin's government to look more seriously at population growth as a factor hindering development efforts.

Although Benin still has no official population policy, it is working cooperatively with UNFPA to integrate population programs into its development strategy. UNFPA is working closely with UNICEF and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) officials in Benin on joint projects aimed at improving health care services, including family planning, in Benin's towns and villages. Efforts to slow population growth have been hindered somewhat by a cultural reluctance to use family planning dating back at least to French colonial laws against birth control earlier this century. UNFPA and Benin government officers are devising information and education campaigns to overcome this bias, however, and are integrating population education into primary school curricula.

Besides the UN programs, Benin receives bilateral assistance from France, West Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the United States. Most of this aid is directed at building development infrastructure, such as roads and health care clinics. In the field of family planning, IPPF has an affiliate in Benin that provides contraceptives to 50 health care clinics and to a delivery network

active in rural villages.

Benin is on the right track in light of its growing readiness to recognize the urgency of population planning and accept help in increasing the availability of family planning. Given its very high rate of population growth, however, and given that fully half of its population is under the age of 15 years old, a great deal remains to be done if Benin is to have realistic hope for lasting development.

BOTSWANA

Botswana's population is small—1.3 million—and its population density is substantially less than many other African nations. That may change, however, because Botswana also has one of the highest rates of population increase not only in Africa, but in the world. Growing by 3.7 percent annually and with 48 percent of the population under 15 years old and yet to enter their reproductive years, Botswana's population will double in just 19 years. What is most disturbing about all of this is that the government seems to be weakening in its commitment to slow population growth, and has recently confined its population-related efforts to maternal and child health programs. Such programs are important and can exert a long-term influence on reducing population growth, yet they are not a substitute for family planning.

Some of the slack left by the government's withdrawal may have to be filled by outside agencies. UNFPA is now in the second year of a five-year, $1.9 million program designed to promote health care and contraceptive availability, educate couples about family planning, and help the Botswana government in developing workable population policies. There is clearly much work to be done in Botswana, and greater commitment from the government to population programs will be required.

Women in Burkino Faso walk up to 20 miles each day to fetch water. —*Photo by AID*

BURKINA FASO

The support from the government toward population stabilization is moderate, but hopes for progress are buoyed by the relatively high level of internationally funded activity there. UNFPA last year started work under a four-year, $5-million program aimed at training local personnel in health care and family planning delivery, promoting the status of women, and educating couples about family planning. The World Bank is also underwriting a $28-million effort to improve health care facilities in the country, develop effective national population policies, and extend the availability of and demand for contraceptives. West Germany and the U.S. Agency for International Development also have bilateral aid programs in Burkina Faso, with the U.S. aid supporting government demographic research and extending family planning services. At least eight non-governmental organizations are also

funding population-related projects in Burkina Faso. The two largest donors are IPPF and Family Planning International Assistance (FPIA).

Although the diversity of population programs in Burkina Faso is encouraging, the battle is still not half won. Burkina Faso's population of 8.5 million is growing by 2.8 percent annually, and would double in just 24 years at that rate.

BURUNDI

Vocational training for women provides upward mobility in tradition-bound societies. *—Photo by AID*

Burundi's government has recognized the link between high population growth and hampered economic development, and it is working to reduce the national growth rate. In its third Five-Year Plan, covering the years 1978–1982, the government officially committed itself to slowing population growth through extending the availability of family planning and improving the status of women. This leadership creates a favorable environment for progress in partnership with the international donor community.

Currently, UNFPA is in the second year of a five-year, $5 million program to help strengthen Burundi's family planning delivery network, integrate population education into the school system, provide demographic analysis of the country's population trends, and construct women's training centers to increase opportunities for young women. IPPF, FPIA, and several other non-governmental organizations are also working in Burundi to educate couples about the benefits of family planning and to provide contraceptive supplies.

Burundi's population is now 5.2 million and will double in 24 years if its 2.9 percent growth rate is not altered. Its population has also been swelled as a result of more than 200,000 refugees from neighboring countries.

CAMEROON

The government of Cameroon recognizes that the country's 2.8 percent population growth rate undercuts efforts to improve the quality of life, but has not yet embraced a policy actively promoting family planning. Instead, it has held to the view that economic development will naturally lead to reductions in the population growth rate and has focused its efforts, therefore, on economic progress. This one-sided approach is sure to delay Cameroon's progress toward economic development, by permitting swift population growth to gobble up what economic gains can be made.

Still, if Cameroon has not promoted family planning, at least neither has it deterred it. The government has permitted efforts to make information available about contraceptive methods, and has cooperated with the activities of UNFPA and several non-governmental organizations toward population stabilization. UNFPA last year approved a plan to spend $2.4 million in Cameroon over the next four years to improve maternal and child health services, encourage development of a national population policy, and integrate more women into

development efforts. Also last year, IPPF sponsored a national conference on family welfare in Cameroon, which led to the formation of an IPPF affiliate there.

Cameroon's population is now just under 11 million, and would double by the year 2014 at current growth rates.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

The government of the Central African Republic appears to be softening its former policy of encouraging population growth. As recently as 1976, the government stood by a pronatalist policy. But by 1982, the government informed the United Nations that its population policy was basically one of non-intervention. It still has not come so far as to call for slowing the rate of population growth, but it does now allow UNFPA and private organizations to promote the use of family planning there. Central African Republic's population of 2.8 million is growing by 2.5 percent annually and would double in 28 years at that pace.

CONGO

The government of Congo permits information to be made available about family planning, but it clings to a pronatalist policy. It favors more population growth because it believes that such growth will aid in the economic development of this desperately poor country. Despite its pronatalist policy, the government has allowed such groups as FPIA and IPPF to promote the availability and use of contraceptives through ongoing aid programs. UNFPA is also doing its part in a four-year, $1.9 million assistance package approved in June 1987. Money under that program will help pay for population education programs in Congo's schools and over the radio, efforts to improve the status of women, and the founding of a national population commission.

Congo is currently home to just over 2.2 million people, and that population is expanding by a swift 3.4 percent annually. At that pace, its population would double in just 21 years.

The government of Congo permits information to be made available about family planning, but clings to a pronatalist policy.

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Côte d'Ivoire's population of 11.2 million is growing by 3.4 percent annually, and will double by 2009 unless the rate is slowed. The Côte d'Ivoire's government is in a position not unlike Cameroon's: it officially stands by a policy favoring continued or even accelerated population growth, and yet it allows international organizations to provide family planning and population assistance as part of their aid packages.

UNFPA is currently in the final year of a four-year, $1.7 million program that, in cooperation with the government, is improving health care services, extending the availability of family planning, and teaching couples about the value of child spacing. The government has also permitted non-governmental

organizations, including IPPF and FPIA, to provide aid in the form of contraceptive supplies and family planning education programs through local private agencies.

ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia, the world's poorest country, has, of course, become an international symbol of the African crisis. The drought and wide-scale suffering there in 1985 made headlines and television news programs around the world and provided many Americans with their first jolting glimpse into the reality of modern Africa. That view, while extreme, is unfortunately not too far off the mark for Africa's future unless an international effort of massive proportions is undertaken to slow population growth and promote development across the continent.

The Ethiopian government acknowledges that the country's 3 percent population growth rate is imperiling its people and their development hopes.

The Ethiopian government acknowledges that the country's 3 percent population growth rate is imperiling its people and their development hopes. At that rate, Ethiopia's population of 49 million would double in 23 years. There is clearly no way Ethiopia could support that many people. Ethiopia has only two choices: undertake far more vigorous efforts to extend family planning or face even larger-scale suffering in the near future.

UNFPA last year launched a comprehensive five-year aid program to improve and expand Ethiopia's family planning delivery and education services, extend population education into the schools, promote the integration of women into all economic sectors, and create several Ethiopian study centers focusing on population and opportunities for women. Ethiopia is also receiving population assistance from at least five non-governmental organizations, of which IPPF is the most active.

GABON

The government of Gabon continues to believe that the country's population growth is too slow. Unlike most of its African neighbors, Gabon is sticking to a policy of actively encouraging larger families and, in fact, has a national plan to increase the population's current 2 percent growth rate to 3 percent by the end of the century. This determined pronatalist stance is, of course, contrary to the recent trend in Africa of increasing concern about overpopulation.

Two factors almost certainly account for Gabon's insistence on continued population growth. The first factor is the nation's relative wealth. Gabon's economy was transformed with the discovery of oil in 1960. For the next 25 years, Gabon was prosperous by African standards and per capita gross national product climbed to near the $4,000 mark, making it Africa's second richest nation in per capita terms. The sudden infusion of oil money has softened the socio-economic impact of population growth and may well have misled some to believe

that, as long as the oil money continued to flow, Gabon could support any size population. The second factor influencing Gabon's pronatalist policy is the country's uneven distribution of population. Gabon, like much of Africa, is undergoing rapid urbanization, and its four largest cities are growing at twice the national population growth rate. They are swelling mainly from immigrants from rural areas, who have left the countryside relatively unpopulated and causing some labor shortages in rural plantations. Yet Gabon's problem is clearly not underpopulation but a misdistribution of population. The answer is not to encourage higher fertility (which will enlarge the urban population much faster than the rural), but to create greater incentives for people to live in the rural areas than in the urban.

There is reason to believe that Gabon may reconsider its pronatalist approach before too long. For one thing, the oil boom days are drawing to an abrupt close. The latest government figures show that Gabon's per capita GNP dropped more than 40 percent in just the two years between 1985 and 1987. It is now estimated to be under $2,200, still high in African terms but shrinking. If Gabon's economy continues to slide, it may find itself in much the same corner that Nigeria found itself earlier in this decade. Nigeria too had enjoyed a booming oil-based economy and held to an optimistic pro-natalist policy. But as oil revenues slid and the detrimental impact of continued population growth grew more apparent, Nigeria adopted a sound and far-sighted plan to reduce fertility. In addition, UNFPA has just launched the first population program in Gabon, in which it will work with government officials to promote awareness of the impact of population growth on development efforts.

Gabon's population of 1.3 million would double in 35 years at its current growth rate.

Road construction leads to deforestation problems in Gabon

GAMBIA

Although Gambia's 2.1 percent population growth rate is only moderate by African standards, its government recognizes that fertility must be reduced in order to enable substantial gains in economic development. The Gambian government has embraced efforts to extend the availability of family planning into the countryside and supports the voluntary activities of the Gambian Family Planning Association, a local IPPF affiliate.

UNFPA is now in the second year of a five-year, $2 million plan to improve maternal and child health programs, provide population information and education, and help in the drafting of a comprehensive national population policy. There is also substantial activity in Gambia by non-governmental organizations, ranging from IPPF and FPIA to the Boston-based Pathfinder Fund. Given the level of this activity and the government's commitment, the picture in Gambia

is encouraging. Gambia is home to roughly 800,000 people, and its current population growth rate would lead to a doubling of that number in 34 years.

GHANA

Ghana's population is the second fastest-growing in western Africa. At its current 3.3 percent growth rate, Ghana's population of 14.5 million would double in 21 years. That would mean a population of more than 20 million people by the year 2000.

Ghana's population is the second fastest growing in western Africa. At its current 3.3 percent growth rate, Ghana's population of 14.5 million would double in 21 years.

To its credit, Ghana's government has undertaken a serious commitment to slowing the country's population growth. It has integrated population planning into its official development strategy, and aims to lower its growth rate to 1.8 percent by the end of the century. It is making progress toward that ambitious goal (its growth rate was 3.9 percent in 1970) largely through wide-scale private projects to promote family planning. The U.S. Agency for International Development is now in the final year of a program it launched in 1985 to provide contraceptive supplies to Ghana and 13 non-governmental organizations are also actively involved in population-related projects there. UNFPA is in the final year of a four-year, $3 million aid program designed to improve health care and family planning availability and to provide assistance to the government in demographic analysis and refinement of its population policy.

GUINEA

With its population of 7 million headed for a doubling in 29 years, the government of Guinea has embraced a policy encouraging smaller families and the use of family planning. The government has been integrating population and sex education into the schools and, particularly since 1982, has emphasized better child spacing as part of its maternal and child health services.

UNFPA last year approved a new aid program in Guinea that would spend $3.4 million over four years to extend family planning services and education, promote the status of women, and stress population as a more central concern in development strategy. IPPF formed a Guinea affiliate in October 1984 and it has been increasingly active since then in promoting popular understanding of population concerns and in delivering family planning services. FPIA has also provided more than $50,000 worth of contraceptive supplies.

GUINEA-BISSAU

The government here is only beginning to integrate population planning into its development strategy. Currently, it is emphasizing the need to gather more demographic information before adopting a comprehensive population policy. It is also only beginning to incorporate child spacing education into its maternal and child health programs. A national IPPF affiliate was formed last year and

it is only beginning to get off the ground.

UNFPA in June 1987 approved a $2.1 million program to beef up education and delivery services in family planning and maternal and child health care. The four-year program will stress the avoidance of unwanted pregnancies and also provide assistance to the government in demographic analysis to promote a better understanding of the impact of population growth on development efforts.

KENYA

The population of Kenya, one of the United States' most important allies on the African continent, is growing faster than that of any other country in the world. At its current 4.2 percent growth rate, its population of nearly 24 million would double in less than 17 years! This should be a matter of grave concern to U.S. foreign policy because such spiraling growth is undermining the stability of this key democratic state. While Kenya's population is growing by 4.2 percent annually, its economy is growing by only 3.5 percent. The obvious result is that Kenyans are getting poorer. The social pressures related to high population growth are becoming acute, and especially visible in overcrowded schools, inadequate housing, and insufficient health care.

The government of Kenya has adopted an ambitious and often innovative policy aimed at encouraging smaller family size in order to reduce the population growth rate. Kenya's biggest obstacle is entrenched cultural norms valuing large families. The average Kenyan woman has eight children during her reproductive lifetime. With substantial international assistance, the government has launched a massive public information campaign to promote a smaller-family norm, including the creation of a U.S. funded soap opera series on television and radio in which characters promote the idea of family planning and having fewer children.

The population of Kenya . . . is growing faster than any other country in the world.

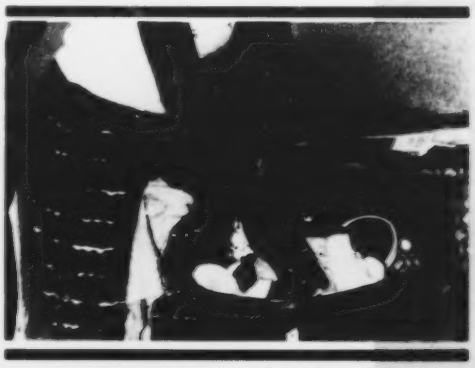
Family planning availability is better in Kenya than in many of its neighboring countries, but much remains to be done. The World Bank, in cooperation with several Western donor nations, has launched a $54.5 million population project targeted mainly at rural Kenya, where fertility levels are highest. UNFPA has also approved a five-year, $10-million program to expand efforts along several fronts, including family planning services and education and the formation of more effective population policies. The U.S. Agency for International Development is involved in a wide range of family planning projects, and Kenya also receives population aid from seven other Western governments. There is also substantial assistance from more than 20 non-governmental organizations.

The situation in Kenya is quite serious, but the great commitment shown by President Daniel arap Moi to reducing fertility through sound voluntary

programs and the very high level of cooperative assistance from the international community are a realistic basis for progress. Both elements must be increased in the short-term and sustained over the long-term.

LESOTHO

The government of Lesotho aims to reduce its current 2.6 percent population growth rate to 2.1 percent but has not set a target date. At the current rate, Lesotho's population of 1.6 million would swell to more than 3.5 million by the year 2020. The government is concentrating its family planning efforts on educating couples about the benefits of child spacing. The World Bank and UNFPA have been providing assistance aimed at strengthening family planning delivery services in Lesotho. IPPF and FPIA have also been active in promoting family planning in Lesotho.



Efforts being undertaken to improve maternal and child health. ***—Photo by AID***

LIBERIA

In 1976, Liberia's government first acknowledged the relationship between rapid population growth and impaired economic development. Since then it has integrated family planning into its maternal and child health care services and the availability of contraceptives has increased beyond that of some of its neighbors.

In a recent move, the President endorsed and the legislature approved an act putting forth Liberia's population policy objectives. Even so, its 3.2 percent population growth rate is higher than average for western Africa and means that Liberia's population of 2.5 million people will double in 22 years unless family planning use increases.

UNFPA recently has undertaken a five-year program to extend family planning services and education, and to assist the government in analyzing demographic data and drafting new population policies. Seven non-governmental organizations are also active in Liberia with various projects promoting family planning and research programs. Reducing population growth should be an important goal of U.S. policy toward this longtime ally, especially in light of the continuing U.S. effort to help Liberia straighten out its tangled national finances and improve its economic footing.

MALAWI

Malawi's government has officially recognized that rapid population growth undermines economic development. But it has also insisted as recently as during the 1984 International Conference on Population in Mexico City that the best way to reduce population growth is through economic development. Consequently, the government has chosen not to promote family planning aggressively and has encouraged better child-spacing only as a development strategy

for improving general health conditions.

Because of the government's attitude, most external assistance has been focused on child-spacing. UNFPA last year began work under a four-year, $3 million program to persuade couples to space their children, integrate child-spacing into clinical services, and promote better demographic analysis and population policies. The U.S. Agency for International Development and FPIA also are funding child-spacing projects, and a Malawi IPPF affiliate is training women and young people about family planning so that they, in turn, can share their new knowledge in their home villages and communities.

Malawi's population of 7.7 million is growing by 3.2 percent annually, and at that rate would double in just 21 years, passing the 20 million mark before the year 2020.

MALI

The government of Mali does not recognize population growth as an obstacle to economic development, despite the fact that its per capita GNP remains stuck well below $200. It has permitted family planning programs aimed at improving child spacing, and a number of international organizations including UNFPA, the U.S. Agency for International Development, IPPF, and FPIA are involved in extending family planning use and availability in Mali. As a result, access to family planning is widening and gains are being made in child-spacing.

Mali's population of 8.7 million is growing by 2.9 percent annually, and would double in 24 years at that pace.

MOZAMBIQUE

The government of Mozambique has yet to take a leadership role in slowing the country's rate of population growth. It has recognized the value of child spacing for purposes of improving general health and has promoted family planning to achieve the two-year birth interval. Because of the government's child spacing program and the efforts of some international organizations to promote contraceptive use, access to birth control in Mozambique is relatively good by African standards (although still poor by world standards).

Access to birth control in Mozambique is relatively good by African standards.

UNFPA is now in the second year of a five-year aid program to promote wider incorporation of family planning into the country's maternal and child health programs. UNFPA funds are also being used to include sex education programs in schools, training health care workers to dispense contraceptive services, and spreading information about family planning through rural villages by way of women's and community groups. IPPF and FPIA are also working in Mozambique to increase the emphasis placed on family planning in maternal health care programs.

NIGERIA

The Nigerian government is now on the cutting edge of African efforts to reduce population growth through family planning. How it got there is rather remarkable. Only 10 years ago, Nigeria resisted all efforts to encourage slower population growth and insisted instead that its booming oil revenues could support virtually unlimited growth. With the collapse of the oil market, however, Nigeria's revenues plummeted from $25 billion annually to under $5 billion, and it began to feel the pinch of its swelling population. The past five years have seen a significant transformation of Nigeria's attitude toward population growth. Last year, the government drafted the most far-reaching population program in Africa, and it is helping to set the standard by which other programs are judged. Important to Nigeria's change of policy was information provided by computer models set up by the U.S. government. These sophisticated models are able to calculate probable demographic trends into the future based on a range of variables. The models were run for Nigeria and they suggested a frightening future in which growing human need would far outstrip economic growth.

In many African nations women not only raise large families but are expected to provide for them.
—Photo by AID

The new program adopted by Nigeria calls for making contraceptives universally available and inexpensive, encouraging later marriage, smaller family size, and reducing fertility by improving maternal and child health conditions. The Nigerian government is committing substantial sums to the program and working in cooperation with the World Bank. Also UNFPA last year approved $13 million in aid to Nigeria over the next five years. Finally, there are wide-ranging commitments from nearly 20 non-governmental organizations to projects that will complement the government's program.

This level of commitment, and particularly the new leadership shown by the Nigerian government, provides good reason for hope in overcoming Nigeria's substantial population momentum. With more than 112 million people, Nigeria is the eighth most populous nation on earth. With 45 percent of its population under 15 years of age, Nigeria's population is sure to grow significantly higher before it stabilizes. If its growth rate of 2.9 percent remained steady, its population would double to 224 million people in just 24 years. Hopefully, however, the ambitious program launched in Nigeria will succeed in rewriting that crowded future.

RWANDA

Rwanda's population of 7.2 million is growing by 3.7 percent annually. At that pace, Rwanda would find its population doubled within 19 years and its already high population density doubled to 460 persons per square kilometer.

Fortunately, Rwanda's government fully recognizes the detrimental impact this growth is having on its economic development plans and has adopted a

comprehensive program aimed at reducing fertility from its current average of 8.5 children per woman. Rwanda's program includes educational campaigns focusing on the benefits of smaller families and a drive to make family planning available at every hospital and health care clinic in the country. Rwanda receives assistance in its effort from UNFPA, which recently approved a five-year, $5 million aid package. The World Bank, U.S. Agency for International Development, and West Germany are also providing financial assistance to improve Rwanda's delivery of health care and family planning services.

SENEGAL

In April, 1988 President Diouf agreed to a national population policy designed to curb the country's 2.6 percent population growth rate. Laws forbidding the use and distribution of contraceptives have been repealed and a family planning program is underway, including the construction of new family planning clinics. The government has recognized the importance of family planning both to its overall development goals and its desire to improve maternal and child health through child spacing.

Senegal is receiving assistance from the U.S. Agency for International Development in the extension of family planning services through channels in both the public and private sectors. UNFPA has also begun work under a new four-year, $4 million project to promote the status of women, expand the availability of family planning, and strengthen the government's ability to conduct demographic research. More than 10 non-governmental organizations are also at work on related projects.

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone's population growth is low by African standards, but even so, the government has recognized that it poses a threat to long term development plans. Growing at 1.8 percent annually, Sierra Leone's population of 4 million would take nearly 40 years to double. Yet as long as Sierra Leone's economy cannot keep up, its people will grow poorer. Just last year the country's per capita GNP slipped 16 percent, from $370 to $310.

Population and sex education is integrated into school programs.
—Photo by AID

The government formed a National Population Council in 1982 and charged it with developing recommendations for how best to achieve lower fertility rates. The Council's work has been slow to translate into an effective national policy, but access to birth control has improved nonetheless in recent years. UNFPA is now in the final year of a four-year program to improve the government's demographic analysis capabilities and to make family planning more available through a network of seven hospitals and 30 clinics. IPPF, FPIA, and eight other non-governmental organizations are also working in Sierra Leone

to improve public awareness of the relationship between family planning and family well-being, make family planning more readily available, and conduct demographic research.

SOMALIA

The average Somalian woman has 7.4 children. *—Photo by AID*

The government of this poor east African nation of eight million people considers its 3.1 percent population growth rate to be generally satisfactory. It has so far done little to slow population growth, although it does condone the use of family planning to achieve proper birth spacing and improve family health. UNFPA has recently launched a new five-year, $6 million program to build a network of maternal and child health clinics throughout Somalia which would promote better child spacing. The money would also support population education programs aimed at young people and help pay for a national census. An IPPF affiliate was founded in Somalia four years ago and has become increasingly active in promoting family planning. It reports some encouraging signals from Somalia's government, which may be prepared to take a more constructive role in charting the future of Somalia's population growth.

SUDAN

Sudan is another example of the emerging African awareness of population concerns. In the past several years, Sudan's government has been drifting away from its past policy of non-intervention toward population growth and toward a policy aimed at curbing growth. Sudan formed a National Population Council in 1982 and since then has increasingly signaled its recognition of the relationship between population growth and economic development. It is in the process of formulating a national population policy. In the meantime, the government has given tentative approval to the Council's recommendations urging greater government leadership in promoting family planning and stepped-up efforts to extend family planning availability and education.

Building on the growing receptivity of the Sudanese government to a more active population policy, UNFPA last year approved a five-year, $8 million aid package emphasizing family planning, population education, and the status of women. The U.S. Agency for International Development recently completed a project to establish a model family planning delivery network in the capital of Khartoum, and nine non-governmental organizations are also at work on population-related initiatives, the largest of which is channeled through IPPF's Sudanese affiliate.

At its present 2.8 percent growth rate, Sudan's population of 24 million would double in 24 years.

SWAZILAND

The Kingdom of Swaziland has repeatedly recognized the detrimental impact population growth can have on economic development, and it has aimed officially to reduce fertility. But while these official pronouncements have been on the right track, actual delivery of family planning services has often been impaired by traditional values favoring large family size as well as suspicions that contraceptives might encourage promiscuity. As a result, progress toward reducing the country's 3.1 percent population growth rate has been slower than might be expected given the government's policy. Still, efforts are underway through UNFPA, IPPF, and FPIA to gradually erode these obstacles by promoting a more realistic public understanding of how family planning works and its benefits for family and national well-being.

TOGO

Late in 1987, Togo's President Eyadema called for a briefing on population problems within Togo and Africa as a whole. After a careful review of national population policies in Zaire, Liberia and Nigeria, a policy was drafted and is now pending government approval.

Togo has cooperated in international efforts to make family planning more available to its people. Most of the international assistance directed through UNFPA and non-governmental organizations has been focused on conducting basic demographic research and analysis. Yet the government has also worked with UNFPA to include population and sex education programs into school curricula and to extend the availability of family planning services. The government has cooperated with FPIA in training health care workers in family planning, and with the national IPPF affiliate in educational programs.

Togo's population is currently growing by 3.3 percent annually, which would mean a doubling of its population of 3.3 million within 21 years.

Last year, Tanzania's population growth rate *increased* from 3.5 to 3.6 percent; during the same year, its per capita GNP fell 11 percent, from $270 to $240.

TANZANIA

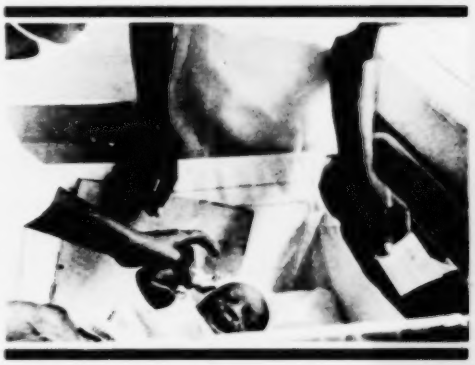
Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere strongly advocated the benefits of family planning and child spacing. And as recently as January 1984, Tanzania played host to the Second African Population Conference, at which 44 African delegates drafted the Kilimanjaro Program of Action for African Population and Self-Reliant Development, a landmark declaration calling for reductions in population growth.

At the direction of the national party, Tanzania recently prepared a draft population policy. Subject to revision and approval, the policy is expected to take effect within a few months. Such moves could not have come soon enough as last year Tanzania's population growth rate *increased* from 3.5 to 3.6 percent; during the same year, its per capita GNP fell 11 percent, from $270 to $240.

With its rising growth rate, Tanzania's population of just under 25 million can be expected to hit 37 million by the end of this century, before doubling to 50 million by the year 2007.

UGANDA

Uganda's government has publicly recognized the desirability of slowing the country's population growth and it has endorsed efforts to extend family planning, but it has generally been preoccupied with rebuilding the country's shattered economy. That has left the job of promoting family planning primarily with private organizations and international agencies. UNFPA is now in the final year of a four-year, $3.5 million aid program stressing family planning, maternal and child health, population education, and the status of women. The Family Planning Association of Uganda, an IPPF affiliate since 1964, also promotes family planning education among Ugandan couples and distributes contraceptives both through public hospitals and its own network of clinics.



Family planning is instrumental in efforts to ensure child survival.
—Photo by AID

Uganda's population of 16.4 million is growing by 3.4 percent annually, at which rate it would double in two decades.

ZAIRE

Zaire's government is in the process of developing a potentially significant national policy on population. A draft policy was formulated by Zaire's Commission on Population and Development, established in December 1986. That policy would be a major step forward for Zaire in recognizing the relationship between rapid population growth and impaired economic development. The government has consistently supported the right of couples to choose for themselves the number of children they wish to have, and has provided family planning to achieve that end through its "desired births" program. Since 1977, the government has also supported sex education in the schools and public information programs related to population and family welfare.

UNFPA is now in the third year of a five-year, $5 million program to promote maternal and child health care, family planning, demographic research, and the status of women. FPIA and IPPF are the two largest of more than a half dozen non-governmental organizations active in Zaire.

At its current 3 percent growth rate, Zaire's population of 34 million would double in the next 23 years.

ZAMBIA

Swift population growth coupled with deepening economic woes has made Zambia a priority country for UNFPA assistance. Zambia's population of 7.5 million is growing by 3.7 percent annually, at which rate it would double

in 20 years. What's more, that growth rate is up from 3.5 percent, suggesting that Zambia's population growth is picking up steam. Part of the reason is the fact that 49 percent of the population is 14 years old or younger, thus a substantial population momentum has already been established.

Just as Zambia's population is getting larger, generating unprecedented human needs, the nation's economy is faltering. Copper-mining is responsible for 95 percent of Zambia's gross national product. As copper prices have fallen in recent years, so has Zambia's economy. Per capita GNP dropped 25 percent last year, falling from $400 to just $300, and unemployment is about 17.5 percent. And, just as Zambia found itself with more people to feed than ever before, its agricultural productivity was in decline.

Largely as a result of Zambia's deteriorating economy, it has recently come to recognize the importance of bringing population growth into a better balance with economic growth and natural resources. In 1985, an inter-ministerial committee drafted the country's first population policy, which was in the final stages of formal approval this year. The policy calls for setting a minimum legal age at marriage of 22 years, increasing the availability and acceptance of family planning, and expanding the opportunities for women outside their traditional role of child-rearing. Zambia's new policy holds great promise and deserves large-scale international assistance in implementation.

UNFPA is now in the final year of a five-year program aimed at building the infrastructure for a family planning delivery system and promoting population education and the status of women. IPPF, FPIA, and several other non-governmental organizations are also committed to increasing the acceptance of family planning, which is now used by only about 8 percent of the population.

Nothing less than a massive commitment of international economic assistance will be required to rewrite Africa's presently bleak future.

ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe was one of the first African nations to see clearly the link between population and development. Sally Mugabe, wife of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, has taken a visible leadership role in trying to establish a norm favoring smaller family size and promoting the acceptance of family planning. Those efforts have met, however, with significant cultural resistance from some quarters, especially in rural areas, which cling to traditional notions favoring very large family sizes and honoring high fertility.

Zimbabwe has a widely established network of international population assistance programs, including bilateral aid from the United States and West Germany, and extensive support from at least 10 non-governmental organizations. UNFPA has also long been involved in building up Zimbabwe's maternal and child health care and family planning delivery networks, and in education programs aimed at increasing popular acceptance of family planning.

Population growth remains high in Zimbabwe, at 3.5 percent, and yet, given the entrenched cultural barriers with which it has had to grapple, the efforts are paying off. At its current growth rate, Zimbabwe's population of just under 10 million people would double over the next 20 years.

• • •

Hope for Africa lies in the attitudes of its children.

These individual country snapshots depict both substantial progress and, in some cases, lingering resistance in the field of population policies. Yet they uniformly portray widening human needs and growing economic challenges, spurred in large part by rapid population growth. Taken together, they should impress us both with the substantial opportunities that exist at last for a productive partnership between African nations and the industrialized donor nations with regard to population policy. They should also impress us with the need to seize those opportunities, given the gravity of the developing African crisis and the importance of averting it to the global economic future and to U.S. foreign policy interests.

We will be put to the test over the next 10 to 15 years. How well and how effectively we respond to Africa's population crisis will tell us whether we are capable of building a cooperative north-south alliance and a stable, prosperous future, or whether we will find ourselves paralyzed by the challenge as the international community dissolves about us. Nothing less than a massive commitment of international economic assistance will be required to rewrite Africa's presently bleak future. But the share of those funds needed to build effective, far-sighted population programs will be comparatively modest. Furthermore, it will be the wisest investment that can be made, because each dollar spent on family planning has a substantial ripple effect of decreasing the need for social spending and increasing per capita economic well-being down the road.

In an address before the Carnegie Corporation on May 7, 1987, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead said: "The current rate of population growth of around 3 percent a year threatens Africa with disaster. Should a burgeoning population outstrip economic growth, living standards will decline and the African environment will be further degraded as more and more people try to eke out a living from marginal land.

"African countries have become increasingly aware of the burden which high population growth rates place on their resources. Many are beginning to develop national population policies. The United States has been supplying over $20 million a year in family planning assistance to Africa, relying heavily on nonprofit, private voluntary agencies to deliver family planning products and services. Africa needs continued international support in this area."

And recently, Whitehead dispatched a communique to all U.S. Agency for International Development mission directors in Africa, calling rapid population

growth "the greatest single constraint to long term economic growth and improvement in human welfare in Africa."

He went on to say: "Our efforts in policy and economic reform, agricultural production, basic education, child survival, and preservation of natural environment are steadily eroded by a relentless rise in population at rates between three and four percent per year. We must redouble our efforts to help in this vital area, find better ways to engage top leadership of host countries, and other donors, and bring about more genuine commitment to voluntary family planning.

"More funding may help a lot in some situations but I am convinced that the key issue is leadership, including our own. We must be clear among ourselves that rapid population growth effectively stymies gross national product growth and undermines efforts to overcome hunger and environmental degradation. We should seek all opportunities to stress the issue within the country team. We should pursue the issue on our agenda of talks at the highest bilateral levels.

"As Sub-Sahara Africa's population approaches one billion over the next generation, rising concern about it among Africans themselves may lead some to take severe measures that become coercive. Our mission should be to assure that drastic measures are not taken, that fertility declines come about as a natural and balanced part of larger development progress, with wide and easy access by all people to voluntary family planning.

"Leadership starts with ourselves. We urge that you thoroughly review your strategies at the country level or prepare strategies if none exists. We should try to integrate voluntary family planning programs into a broader spectrum of our development efforts."

The United States is in a perfect position to take up a leadership role in the vital effort to ensure adequate international population assistance. The transition to a new administration gives Americans the chance to rethink the policy we have pursued over the last eight years and to adopt a more forward-looking strategy to strengthen our partnership with the countries of the Third World. The best place for America to start is by resuming its support for the two organizations with the most effective track records in African development—the UNFPA and IPPF. United States aid channeled through these organizations is almost always better spent than through direct bilateral aid because of the unique acceptance these organizations have earned through their longstanding cooperation with African governments. The international community clearly has its work cut out for it in Africa, and America could send no clearer signal to the rest of the world of its willingness to play a responsible role than by ending its boycott of UNFPA and IPPF.

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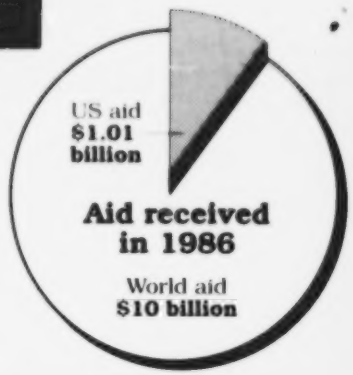
A CONTINENT IN CRISIS

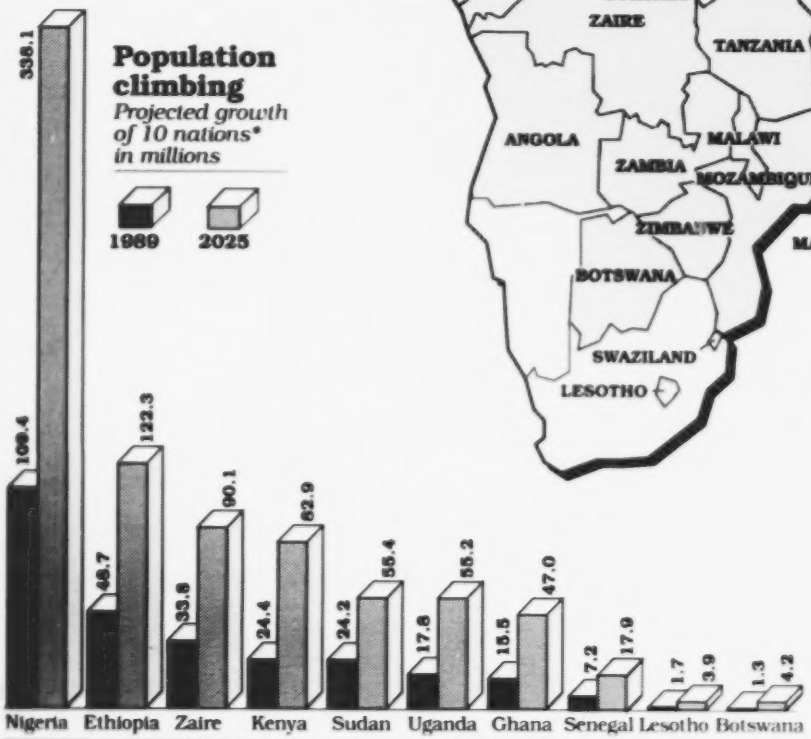


US aid declined to $850 million in 1988. No comparable figure was available for aid from other nations.

Source: US Agency for International Development and World Bank

Population climbing

Projected growth of 10 nations in millions*



* Nations selected to reflect diversity of region. Source: World Resources Institute

Food production erratic

Index of 1984-86 per capita yield. 100 represents the average for the base period, 1979-81.

Nigeria	103	Uganda	111
Ethiopia	87	Ghana	100
Zaire	100	Senegal	102
Kenya	87	Lesotho	82
Sudan	96	Botswana	76

Source: World Bank

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